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to be able to do so; and the same story may be repeated several times all over again on different occasions without the young people losing any interest in the matter.

The cry "*udôdit*" (a story) is heard very often when the young people have placed themselves in a position for slumber, and the exclamation "*udôditko*" (I have a story; literally: my story), emitted by an uninvited story-teller, is usually sufficient to gain him the attention of all present. Consequently Isneg tales are mostly bedtime stories: nevertheless it also happens that they are recited, this time mostly by men, at the opening of a jar of *bási* (alcoholic beverage obtained from the juice of the sugar cane), or rather during the absorption of its contents. On such occasions, whenever an old man begins to tell a story, the youngsters have no sooner got wind of the affair but they leave everything in order to come near and to listen all ears to these wonderful happenings of times gone by or of a world alien to their own. It may sometimes happen also that parents or grandparents call their children or grandchildren together at the time of going to sleep in order to relate to them some traditional myth or legend: in this case, of course, the teaching should be called entirely formal.

How to look for omens and auguries and how to distinguish between good and bad ones are both the subject of almost exclusively direct instruction. Parents and older brothers and sisters are the accepted purveyors of this knowledge, which to the Isneg is absolutely indispensable if he wants to live in peace and beyond the power of malevolent imps and spirits.

E. MORAL EDUCATION

When reading books of travel, especially old ones, written by men who spent a few days at the home of some primitive people, one usually meets with the statement that the latter seem to have no concept of truth and honesty, and one almost always meets with several concrete instances, which apparently prove the truth of that assertion. Not to go too far out of my way, I shall cite as an example a book that has to do almost immediately with the Philippine Islands. We read in the account of Magellan's travels written by Pigafetta that on a certain day, during his famous voyage which led to the discovery of our archipelago, the expedition landed at a place among a group of islands, the inhabitants of which boarded the vessels, laid hands on whatever took their fancy and ran away to hide among the bushes;

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for this reason Magellan gave that group of islands the name of Ladrones (Spanish, "thieves"), and to this day the name of Ladrone Islands may be found on the map. According to the same authority, cases of treachery and deceit were also very frequent among the inhabitants of the Philippines.

Now in my opinion, and probably in that of most other men who have resided for a sufficiently long time among more or less primitive peoples, all these concrete instances (and they may be increased by a thousand similar ones) do not shed any light on that part of the moral code of these peoples which refers to their relations with one another, strictly among themselves. They merely prove that they thought or think it quite consonant with right behavior to steal from the white man and to deceive him whenever the occasion presents itself. But this is far from meaning that stealing and lying in general are permitted by their own standard of morality.

In order to proceed with order and clearness, I shall try in the following paragraphs, first to give an idea of the moral code of the Isneg, and then to consider more in particular the motives that are proposed to the child and the methods of training in vogue among them; after that a few comparisons between theory and practice will show in how far such training is usually successful.

1. The Moral Code

I shall begin by making a preliminary remark which I deem to be of supreme importance: the Isneg moral code does not exactly coincide with the Christian one, and so, what is considered good by the Isneg may very often be very bad according to our own principles. Now, in the next few pages, I shall try to see good and bad through Isneg eyes, and I hope that on that account the reader will not credit me, a Catholic missionary, with a pagan standard of morality. I shall put on the garb of an Isneg moralist for a few moments merely to give a better perspective to the whole treatment of this very important subject.

My first talk will be about virtues and acts of virtue and their opposites; afterwards I shall consider some vices and sins more in detail.

"In order to be a good and decent Isneg you should be faithful in complying with all injunctions of the shamans, in offering the regular sacrifices according to tradition and custom, in observing all taboos, in looking for omens and auguries before starting on anything im-

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THE ISNEG FARMER

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Mountain Province, Philippine Islands

Introduction

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The Isneg are farmers. It is not necessary to have lived a long time among them to know that: the fact is patent; it obtrudes itself almost at every step, almost at every moment.

The chief crop of the Isneg is rice. This is evident not only from the fact that their staple food is rice, but also from the minute care they bestow on their rice fields. All other products of the soil are subordinate to rice, and nothing is left to chance when there is question of raising a good rice crop. They are so meticulous about it that, in a study of their farm activities, all other plants seem to be of little or no importance. The truth of this statement will thrust itself upon anybody who peruses the following pages.

I shall first make a few remarks about Isneg farming in general. Then I shall describe as accurately as possible the Isneg method of raising rice. After that I shall say a few words about other products

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of the soil that are cultivated among the Isneg. This little treatise on Isneg agriculture might have been written by a native, as I try to put myself as much as possible in the place of the Isneg.

I. Isneg Farming in General

It is freely stated all over Apayaw that, in former times, rice was always abundant in each and every village. Not to have old rice (*kópag*) in store, meaning "rice that had been reaped one or more years previously",[1] was the exception rather than the rule; and there were always in existence a goodly number of granaries where rice was kept that had been harvested up to four years back.

A famine (*dasmág* or *ulát*), under the circumstances, might be called an unknown entity, were it not that *dasmág* and *ulát* are genuine Isneg terms, and so that the thing they refer to must have made its appearance at least occasionally. Actually, however, every few years one hears about a famine devastating the land and bringing in its wake a tremendous amount of distress and misery. The children, of course, are usually the most to be pitied, as they are liable to be permanently affected by the lack of sufficient nourishment.

It might be objected that Apayaw is a rich agricultural country, that it is covered with vegetation throughout the year, that rice is not the only crop that can be raised with advantage, that there is an abundance of tropical forests containing plenty of trees and plants of which one or more parts are edible, and consequently that starvation must be impossible. To this I must answer that the cause is not to be found in the soil or in the climatic conditions of the country, but in the character of its inhabitants. The Isneg is easily dejected, he cannot stand adversity; if his ordinary means of sustenance fail, he is at a loss what to do, he just sits down and moons. Even when remunerative work is offered to him, an Isneg who has not the usual amount of rice at his disposal has rarely the courage to perform it: he is simply down.

Fortunately the average Isneg woman shows herself much more courageous, and, where her husband proves a dismal failure, she it

[1] Rice that has been kept for one or two years, because its owners, being in mourning for a dead child, abstained from eating it, is called *dinínág*. In native words occurring in the present paper the accent (') is placed over the accented vowel. Accented n (ń) denotes the ng sound in English "bring". For full phonetic key, see M. Vanoverbergh. The Isneg, Publ. Cath. Anthrop. Conf., 1932, v. 3, no. 1, pp. 3-4.

yaos after the principal river in their country. Some 101
say the word Apayao was originated in their fierce [726]
battle cry *"Ma-ap-ay-ao."* During this call the hand [198]
is clapped rapidly over the mouth so that the cry sounds
much like the American Indian war-whoop. This cry [574]
is also used at a feast: when a new visitor comes,
when the basi is brought in, and when a pig is killed.

I will endeavor to describe, from personal obser- 121
vation of its still numerous cultural remains, some-
thing of the life of the Apayaos as it no doubt existed
little changed during the long centuries during which
their folktales were formed.

The life of these people has much to do with the 361
streams of the country along which most of them live.
They do not live on the river flats, but on the mountain
sides for safety. Many of their communities are [103]
named after the streams near which they are located.
A considerable part of the food is obtained from the
streams; and they are used for washing, bathing and
swimming, as well as for scenery. Much of the trans- 505
portation is on the streams, and the men are expert 502
boatma nand raftsmen. During the heavy rainy sea- [487]
son transportation on swollen rivers is perilous; but, [221]
it is carried on somewhat. The result is that many
a banca has over-turned in the roaring rapids; much
valuable merchandidse still lies in the deep pools at the
feet of those rapids; and many of family mourns the
loss of a loved one. Therefore stories of the streams [538]
often occur in the legends of the people.

The people on each stream were isolated from 184
each other for many centuries so that there has come 174
to be quite a difference in their customs and dialects. 361
197
162

FOLKLORE

Folklore is the fabric upon which the people weave the pattern of their future. It is woven from materials composed of the religious beliefs, customs, habits, and daily life of the people. If these are changed by migration, borrowing from other people, or by internal alteration, the result is a different culture in the future.

If one were to make a complete collection of all the folklore of the people during their varied life, he would have the basic material for a cultural history of that people. For folklore has also sometimes been called the vine that clings to the crumbling ruins of man's progress upward.

The culture of the Apayaos has remained much the same during many long centuries: there has been little progress upward. Thus the interesting old vine has been growing and expanding. If you look at it carefully, you will observe much of the culture of these people.

The Apayao people tell their stories in two ways. The short way is used at such times as when they happen to meet together, perchance on the trail, or are resting for a while. It is a simple narration of events.

The long way is used when time hangs rather heavily during the confinement of the torrential rains, or in the long evenings. These story hours are much enjoyed and are the principal amusement of the people. An old woman or man, steeped in the lore of the past, makes the best story teller. He spins out his tale using a certain pleasing tune, *sanimela*, which at times

538 is rather monotonous and at other times becomes excitingly thrilling, according to the drift of the story.

538 In order to follow the tune, the narrator will often
522 draw out the end of some words or maybe add meaningless syllables. There are many repetitions of action and thought, as well as inconsequential happenings. Incongruities of action and sudden transitions of scene often occur. Once in awhile the narrative is broken by some ludicrous incident just as you have clowning in a drama. The greater pleasure is not so much in following the development of the plot of the story as it is in the delightful manner of the telling. Yet the plot is interesting, being often based on some
[513] practical joke. Listening to such a story is really a very happy way to spend an otherwise dull time. Sometimes the people stay up all night and listen to them.

126 However, if one wrote down every syllable which the story teller uttered in narrating one story, he would have a book which very few people would care to read. Therefore most of the folk tales in this little collection are written in the short way. With some, the popular dialect used (sometimes ungrammatically) is also given. The English following is a free translation. Sometimes two versions of a story are given.

● 121 Some students make distinction between myths
538 and folktales. But the people have only one name,
773 *adodit*, for both; and as a matter of fact, there are
776 few folktales which do not have a religious element. In the early days the main distinction between *anitos* and men was that they lived in a different place: the only physical difference being that the female *anitos* had only one breast which was in the center of their

bosoms. It was possible for an *anito* to be a man or for a man to become an anito. If the people make so little distinction between gods and men, why should I? 121 538 773 776

Anyhow, here are some of the Apayao tales.